

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

GRANT TO THE RUSSIANS.—“After sweet  
“meat comes sour sauce,” says the old  
proverb; and so in our case; after so much  
rejoicing and gun-firing comes a demand  
upon our purses. The *reckoning* comes,  
and we look just as foolish as a set of fel-  
lows at an ale-house, when, at the end of  
four or five hours singing, and hallooing,  
and swallowing, the landlord comes in with  
his long score.—This grant was called  
for by the Regent, in a Message delivered  
to the House of Commons, on the 17th of  
December, in the following memorable  
words:—“G. P. R.—The Prince Re-  
“gent, acting in the name and on the be-  
“half of His Majesty, having taken into  
“his serious consideration the accounts  
“which he has received of the severe dis-  
“tresses to which the inhabitants of a part  
“of the Empire of Russia have been ex-  
“posed in their persons and property, in  
“consequence of the unprovoked and atro-  
“cious invasion of that country by the  
“Ruler of France, and the exemplary and  
“extraordinary magnanimity and fortitude  
“with which they have submitted to the  
“greatest privations and sufferings in the  
“defence of their country, and the ardent  
“loyalty and unconquerable spirit they  
“have displayed in its cause, whereby re-  
“sults have been produced of the utmost  
“importance to the interests of this king-  
“dom, and to the general cause of Europe,  
“recommends to the House of Commons,  
“to enable His Royal Highness, in aid of  
“the contributions which have been com-  
“menced within the Russian empire for  
“this purpose, to afford to the suffering  
“subjects of His Majesty’s good and great  
“ally the Emperor of Russia, such speedy  
“and effectual relief as may be suitable to  
“this most interesting occasion.”—This  
Message, and the grant of £200,000,  
which has taken place in consequence of it,  
are, one would suppose, sufficient to make  
this “most thinking nation” begin to think  
a little. They have been taught to believe,  
that the *French* alone were suffering, and  
that the Russians were completely success-

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ful. This Message tells another story; it  
speaks, in a language not to be misunder-  
stood, of the *sufferings of the Russians*.  
It was, it seems to me, the business of the  
government and army of Russia to *keep the  
French out* of that country; to prevent the  
people from suffering; and, not to let in the  
enemy, and afterwards appeal to the people  
of Russia to compensate the sufferers.—  
Be this as it may, however, I cannot see,  
for my part, any reason why the *people of  
England* should be taxed for the purpose of  
feeding or clothing those of Russia, who,  
but a very little while ago, were amongst  
our enemies.—If, indeed, I could see,  
that the sufferings of the Russians have led  
to our benefit, I should have less objection  
to the grant; but I can see no such thing;  
I cannot discover any possible advantage  
that we are to derive from the results lately  
witnessed in Russia: and, though I may be  
thought singular in this my opinion *now*, I  
shall not, I am convinced, be so thought in  
a few months from this time.—During  
the debate upon the subject, it was observ-  
ed, that the Russians were fighting *for us*  
as well as for themselves. The idea was  
this, that by their sacrifices, which had  
produced such distress in the army of Na-  
poleon, and which had been the cause of  
all those victories over him of which we  
have read, *a market is opened to our manu-  
factures*. This may possibly be true; but,  
if it be, it only tends to make good what  
the French have so often asserted; namely,  
that we derive benefit from the sufferings  
of the people of the Continent; and, I  
really do not think, that there was a great  
deal of wisdom in making the avowal.—  
The sufferings of the people of MOSCOW  
were particularly mentioned, and Mr. Van-  
sittart is reported to have said, that, after  
the burning of that city, “*some hundreds  
“of thousands of persons were driven to  
“the shelter of the woods in a Russian  
“winter.*” But, *who* was it that caused  
this dreadful suffering? *Who* was it that  
commanded Moscow to be burnt? This is  
a great point; and, therefore, we will hear  
what the Czar himself, in his proclamation  
of the 15th of November, says upon the  
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matter. He expresses himself thus:—  
 “ It is well known to the whole world in  
 “ what manner the enemy has entered the  
 “ boundaries of our Empire. No step or  
 “ means that have so frequently been re-  
 “ sorted to by us for the punctual fulfil-  
 “ ment of the peaceable stipulations, nor  
 “ our steady endeavours, by all possible  
 “ means, to avert the effects of a bloody  
 “ and destructive war, has been able to  
 “ check his obstinate design, in which he  
 “ has shewn himself entirely immovable.  
 “ With peaceful promises on his tongue,  
 “ he never ceased to think on war. At  
 “ length, having collected a large army,  
 “ and strengthened it with Austria, Prus-  
 “ sia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Westpha-  
 “ lian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and  
 “ Polish regiments, who were constrained,  
 “ through disgrace and fear, he put himself  
 “ in motion with this immense force, sup-  
 “ plied with vast quantities of artillery,  
 “ and penetrated into the interior of our  
 “ country. *Murder, fire, and destruction*  
 “ were his attendants on the march. The  
 “ plundered property, the towns and vil-  
 “ lages set on fire, *the smoking ruins of*  
 “ *Moscow*, the Kremlin blown up into the  
 “ air, the temples and altars of the Lord  
 “ destroyed—in one word, all kinds of  
 “ cruelty and barbarity, hitherto unheard  
 “ of, at length *prove by his own actions*  
 “ that they have long been laying conceal-  
 “ ed in the depth of his mind. The mighty  
 “ and happy Russian empire, *which pos-*  
 “ *sesses every thing in abundance*, awaken-  
 “ ed in the heart of the enemy envy and  
 “ dread. The possession of the whole world  
 “ could not satisfy him, so long as the  
 “ fertile fields of Russia still were hap-  
 “ py.”—Here is a distinct declaration,  
 that it was Buonaparté who caused Moscow  
 to be burnt; for what does it say? Why,  
 this: “ That the *smoking ruins of Mos-*  
 “ *cow* prove, by his *own actions*,” that  
 his designs of cruelty and barbarity have  
 long been lying concealed in his mind.  
 This is quite clear. There can be no other  
 construction of the words. The Czar dis-  
 tinctly says, that the smoking ruins of  
 Moscow are one proof of the designs of  
 Napoleon; that they are a proof of what  
 his *own actions* have been.—Now,  
 then, what will those hirelings say, who  
 accused the Czar of having commanded  
 Moscow to be burnt? or, rather, who  
*applauded him* for the act; and who justi-  
 fied the detected incendiaries upon the  
 ground of their having *obeyed the orders*  
 of their Sovereign; who asserted that that

Sovereign “ had a plain, full, and perfect  
 “ right to cause Moscow to be burnt;”  
 who called Napoleon a *murderer* because he  
 put some of the incendiaries to death; and  
 who called upon the Czar to put to death  
 ten times the number of *French prisoners*  
 of war by way of *retaliation*? What will  
 they now say? Will they turn short  
 about, and again accuse Napoleon of the  
 act; an act which they have applauded to  
 the skies; an act which they said was fully  
 justifiable in the sovereign of the country;  
 an act, in short, with regard to which the  
 Morning Chronicle has recently read its  
 recantation, confessing that it was *in error*  
 when it *disapproved* of the act? What  
 will they now say; now, when they hear  
 the Czar laying this act, of which they  
 have so much approved, upon the shoulders  
 of Napoleon? I suppose that they will say  
 no more of the matter. They will leave  
 it where it is. They will not contradict  
 the Czar; they will publish his assertion  
 that Napoleon caused the city to be burnt;  
 and will leave their accusations about his  
 “ *murder*” of the incendiaries unretracted;  
 so that, between the two, the thinking  
 people of England may, if they choose  
 (and it is likely that they will choose), to  
 believe, that it was Napoleon who ordered  
 the city to be burnt, and that he murdered  
 those whom he employed in the bar-  
 barous work!—Nevertheless, there is  
 one difficulty, as to this memorable  
 event, that these gentlemen will not, I  
 think, find it easy to overcome. Since  
 Napoleon began to retreat, and espe-  
 cially since news has arrived of the great  
 sufferings and losses in his army, these  
 writers have been filling their columns with  
 dissertations on the *wisdom* and *magnani-*  
*mity* which dictated the burning of Moscow.  
 This act it was, as they told us, which  
 produced the necessity of his retreat at so  
 inclement a season; and, in short, that led  
 to all those brilliant consequences, which  
 have been detailed to us during the last  
 month, and which are looked upon, by  
 most people, as forming a happy begin-  
 ning in the great work of the deliverance  
 of Europe. But, where was the *wisdom*,  
 where the *magnanimity*, of this famous  
 act, if the act was committed by order of  
 Napoleon and not by that of the Czar?  
 We must leave these ingenious gentlemen  
 to settle this matter with the Czar himself;  
 for the point is much too delicate for us to  
 pretend to decide.—Again, as to the  
 people of Moscow, who have been ap-  
 plauded to the third heaven (for which



many of them have taken their departure) for having voluntarily burnt their own houses and food and raiment, rather than suffer them to afford shelter and comfort to the French; what will be said of their *voluntary* sacrifices, if we now adopt the belief, that it was by the enemy's order that the burning took place?—These are difficulties out of which none but persons like those who conduct our press would be able to extricate themselves. Whether they will or not I shall not pretend to say; but, certain I am, that, if they fail, it will not be for the want of falsehood and impudence unparalleled in the history of the world.—With respect to the grant, I shall only further observe, that it seems to me of little consequence whether the money be sent to Russia or to the Peninsula. It is, perhaps, full as well to expend it in the North as in the South. I do not like to make a great deal of the matter; if I had had the distribution of £200,000, I could have found objects in England on whom to confer it; but, if it be to go to foreigners, I would as lief the Russians should have it as the Portuguese, or the Sicilians, or the Spaniards, or the Hanoverians, or any other nation. I have really no choice in such a case. I would give none of them money; and if we are compelled to pay taxes to give to any of them, I care not a straw which of them it is.

THE BOURBONS.—Ever since it was known that Napoleon had experienced a reverse of fortune in Russia, our hired prints have been preparing the way for the introduction of the project of *restoring the Bourbons*; and, on the 18th instant, the *Courier*, in the height of its joy at the news from Russia, openly avowed the project in the following terms:—"If ever there was a time when, more than another, the Bourbons had a chance of *remounting the Throne of their ancestors*, this is surely the time, when defeat and disgrace have attended THE USURPER, and when the French nation, drained of its population, and ruined in its commerce, must be discontented from one end to the other. Whether it would be wise to have one of the Princes of that House, the husband of the interesting daughter of Louis the XVIth, or the Duke de Berri, hoist the Royal Standard at once:

Now is the time of help: your eye in France  
Would create soldiers, make our women fight,  
To doff their dire distresses;

"Whether we could go the length of addressing one of the French Princes in this language of Shakespeare, we do not pretend to decide. But at least we may assert that this is the time in which Louis XVIII might produce much effect by publishing an Address to the French Nation.—If the reluctance to do this arise from a belief that the French will be the first to make overtures to him, it is, we think, by no means politic. A frank and open declaration should come from him, *guaranteeing the purchasers of the national property, acknowledging the Senate, and confirming the civil officers in the possession of their places.* The effect of such a declaration under such circumstances as the present, might have every beneficial effect, at least it could do no harm."—Here, then, we have, at last, openly avowed that which it has always been suspected was at the bottom of the hearts of some persons in this country. Here, too, Buonaparté and the people of France will see, what these persons would do, if they had the power.—As to the *guaranteeing* work spoken of in the close, the people of France will, I dare say, see that they, at present, stand in need of *no guarantee*, and will not be in a hurry to desire one. They will, doubtless, recollect, that with him, whom we now call an *usurper*, we made a treaty of peace and *friendship* some years ago; and, perhaps, they will find it very difficult to comprehend what has made him an usurper *now* more than he was *then*.—But, it seems, that "the French nation MUST now be discontented from one end to the other." And *why*? Because its *population has been drained* and its *commerce ruined*. Do these produce discontent? Are they justifiable causes of discontent? Do they warrant a people in desiring to put down their ruler? Oh, blockhead! why do you not *think* a little before you speak?

—As to the *defeat and disgrace* of Buonaparté, why, as the *Morning Chronicle* asked the other day, should we suppose the people of France more alive upon such a point than the people of England? And, experience has taught us, that such events produce no such effects with us, as are here contemplated to be produced in France.

—The truth is, however, we have, as yet, *no proof* of either the *disgrace* or the *defeat* of Buonaparté. That he has had, and, perhaps, still has, very great difficulties to contend against; that his army has greatly



suffered; that he has experienced enormous losses; that he may be obliged to evacuate a great part of the Russian territory which he had overrun; all this may be true; and yet, in the usual meaning of the words, he may have suffered neither disgrace nor defeat; and, therefore, it is the height of folly, to say nothing of its detestable wickedness, in any one in this country to broach such a project as that of carrying on the war for the restoration of the Bourbons; and, of course, for bringing Europe back to the state in which it was twenty years ago.—The Times newspaper of the 19th instant says: “To suppose that *de-gradation* will effect any moral change in his nature, will humble his mind, and incline him to peace and good faith, and the severe duties of justice, is to betray a total ignorance of the force of passions deeply rooted, and nurtured by long and excessive indulgence. Whilst he lives and acts the Monarch, he will endeavour to act the Tyrant. He must, therefore, be *divested of all power to do mischief; he must be entirely beaten down and destroyed*. Towards this great and salutary end, much progress has been made by the late splendid victories of the Russian arms. It is for *our Statesmen to finish the great work so happily begun*, by animating the oppressed nations of Europe, with one common spirit of resistance against a tyranny which *now totters on its base*.”—These are the sentiments now afloat, the expression of which, though through channels so contemptible, may, perhaps, prolong, for years, this terrible war. It is impossible, after this, to think of peace with Napoleon upon any terms which shall leave us the power of annoying him. I, the other day, quoted a passage from one of these papers, in which the whole French nation were made participators in the alleged crimes of their Chief; and they are now told, that that chief must be beaten down and wholly destroyed.—In the meanwhile there is an account published in the French papers of some attempts having actually been made to bring about a *counter-revolution* in that country. This account is very curious, and not less interesting to us, as will be seen from a perusal of it and from the observations which it naturally suggests. The articles from the French papers are as follows: “*L’Orient*, Nov. 25.—The Commissary of Police, at L’Orient, having received information that three English agents had been landed a few days on

the Island of Houat, with a design to penetrate into the Morbihan; notice of the circumstance was given on the 21st November to Captain Molini, Commandant of the Imperial Navy, of the four departments. This officer immediately dispatched his Majesty’s lugger *Alert*, to seize the Brigands. The Lieutenant of the lugger arrived in the evening of the 22d, at the anchorage of the island, and landed at midnight, at the head of a detachment from his vessel, with which he went to the house where it was supposed they lodged. They found the whole three. The moment the Lieutenant entered, they fell on him and his party with pistols and poniards, determined to force their way out. After a desperate struggle to overpower them, it was found necessary to shoot them. There was nothing found about them but pistols and poniards. *Their Chief alone had a small paper of poison in his pocket*. They were recognised to be Depiege, alias Debar, Deguern, alias Sans-Souci, and Droz. Their papers and instructions were found by Lieutenant Allanioux, in a portmanteau, and were immediately forwarded to Capt. Molini, who sent them to the Police. These miserable wretches only obtained lodgings by threatening the inhabitants of Houat. This event will deter the Spies of England from returning to this island. The Quarter-Master Person, who attacked Deguero, received several stabs of the poniard in his clothes. The artilleryman Allcan, received a ball in his left side, but the wound is not dangerous. —The *Journal de l’Empire* refers its readers to the intelligence from L’Orient, as affording an explanation of a paragraph in the London papers of the 30th ult. which stated that a French General and two French Colonels had been landed in France by the *Armide* frigate.—“The pretended General,” it says, “was the old Chouan Chief Debar, and his *soi-disant* Colonel, Droz and Deguero, ruffians notorious by the crimes which they committed in our civil broils. They embarked at Plymouth in the beginning of November, and arrived in Quiberon Bay, where they remained four or five days on board, not daring to land. At length they caused themselves to be conveyed to the Isle of Houat, where they were put on shore on the 16th November.” After stating their capture, it says, “there were found on Debar, who was



“ shot on the 23d November, several detailed reports of his operations, dated France, Morbihan, the 2d, 3d, and 4th December. The first is addressed to the Prince of Wales, the second to the Duke of Kent, and the third to the Secretary of State for the War Department. Debar announces in these reports, that he had made his way into Brittany in the midst of the greatest dangers; that he had already assembled a great number of malcontents and deserters, and would soon be in a situation to strike some decisive blow; in short, he gives a daily statement of his progress up to the 4th December. Thus it appears, that before he had arrived at Houat, and perhaps before he had left London, this able General had drawn up a *faithful* account of the signal advantages which he was to obtain twelve days after his death. We cannot refrain from congratulating the English Ministers upon their choice of agents, and the incredible success with which they execute the missions intrusted to them. This, however, is not the first time that they have so worthily justified its confidence. This affair may serve as an appendix to the *mystification* of Drake, and merits that it should be recorded as an additional specimen of the sublime combinations of English policy. We hope the details we have just given will gratify the impatient curiosity of a London public, and we promise them, for the future, that we shall give them punctual advices respecting such expeditions as often as they are sent to us.”

The Times news-paper, in the height of its rage at the result as here recorded, falls foul of the French police, and ascribes its vigilance to the circumstance of the fate of the new Dukes and Counts being dependent upon that of their master. They must, the Times says, *all stand or fall together*, and therefore the former are so faithful in the absence of the latter; to which he adds, that “the short road to peace is over the *corpse of the monster*.”—These are expressions of great weight; they ought to be attended to by us, because they are sure to be attended to by Buonaparté and by the people of France. This writer threatens the new Dukes and Counts with the *gibbet*, in case of the fall of Napoleon; and he thinks, perhaps, that he shall have to record the putting of that threat in execution. It is, however, to look a little too far before him to see them, in “his mind’s eye” thus swinging so soon. To be sure, the thing

is possible; and, if it should not really happen, I dare say the new Dukes and Counts will thank us full as much as if it did happen.—In short, the notions of our writers, and, indeed, the notions now set afloat in the public papers, are truly alarming. They menace us with a war for the rest of our lives; or at least a war to continue as long as the pound bank-note will buy a quartern loaf. The promulgation of such notions places all upon the hazard of a die. If Napoleon fall, why, then, we *may* have peace from that cause; but, if he rise; if he surmount his present difficulties, what hope can we rationally entertain of peace with him upon any terms short of such as will deprive us of all future power? After the publication of these denunciations against him, against all persons in authority under him, and, indeed, against the whole mass of the French people; after this, who can hope for peace, if he should survive?—The same career that we ran during the Anti-Jacobin war we now seem to be entering upon anew. During that war many occasions offered for making a safe and honourable peace; but, whenever we saw the French arms experiencing a reverse; whenever we saw the difficulties of France disposing her rulers towards peace, our hopes of *humbling* her revived, and our refusal to treat goaded her on to fresh exertions. In those auspicious moments, when moderation in our views and our language might have done every thing for us and our allies, we assumed a tone that soon threw us back to our former situation; and, by a series of such conduct, we, at last, reduced ourselves to the necessity of making a peace like that of Amiens.—If, when Buonaparté returned from Egypt (a *fugitive* as we then called him) we had accepted of his offer of peace, how different at this day would have been the state of Europe, and of England in particular! But, we then threw the Bourbons in the teeth of France; we then talked of seeing a *government established such as we could make peace with*. One would think that, with the bitter fruits of that day still on our palate, we should be more cautious; but, there are men whom nothing will teach prudence.

WAR IN THE PENINSULA.—The French official papers give an account of the *prisoners* and *deserters*, which entered Salamanca between the 16th and 21st of November, which are stated at 25 officers and 3,497 non-commissioned officers and



men; aye, into that very *Salamanca*, where we won the victory, which was the cause of the elevation of our commander and of the vote of £100,000 to him.—The same accounts say, that our army have *retreated into Portugal*.—But, on this subject not a word is said, in the way of remark, in *our* newspapers. They, indeed, are so much occupied with their comments on the Russian victories, and with their speculations as to the *when* and the *where* and the *how* and the *who* of the death of Buonaparté, that they have neither time nor room to say any thing of the fate of our own army.—Besides, what are 3 or 4 thousand men when we think of the *hundreds of thousands*, captured and killed by PRINCE KUTUSOW, who really would seem, from what our people say of him, to carry a whirlwind in his breath, and whose whiskers appear to be a veritable “besom of destruction?”—It is not right, however, to let our own commander drop *wholly* out of sight. We may admire the Russian; but, let him not quite eclipse Lord Wellington, the Marquis of Wellington! Our writers should bear this in mind; or they may possibly give umbrage. I would advise them when they have taken a good breathing upon the prowess of Kutusow, to take a turn in the Peninsula; and, in waiting for new victories, let us have the old ones sung over again.—I am afraid that this account of the French is but too true; and I must confess it, however unfashionable I may appear, that I think more of these 3,497 men than I do of the whole Russian army and the whole Russian people into the bargain. This is a *real* loss to England; and, in the Russian victories (as they are called) I can see no *real* gain. If all, aye *all*, that we have been told about those victories be true, and that is a monstrous supposition, for we have, I believe, had accounts of the taking and killing of *more than a million* of Frenchmen; but, if it be all true, Russia is *half ruined*; she is crippled for many years, and will, in all human probability, be unable of herself, to withstand a renewed attack. Whereas, in Spain, our loss is a *real* loss. It is a small army that the French have taken, according to their own account, during only the last month; and yet, not a word of compassion is expressed upon this subject by those men who are so loud in their compassion towards the Russians.—Our army (if the French accounts be true) has been cruelly harassed on its retreat; killing here and killing there; loss of baggage and the

like; and yet none of these writers attempt to suggest the propriety of sending the means of comfort *to them*! They have compassion for every body but their own countrymen. They have compassion even for the *people of France* when they are telling us of their wish to rise against Buonaparté; but for the English army or the English people never does a word of compassion escape them. Nay, the Times news-paper is for abolishing *Friendly Societies* amongst the poor in England, because they enable, it says, journeymen *to keep up their wages*!

ILCHESTER JAIL.—In the House of Commons, on the 21st of December, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT presented a petition in behalf of certain persons, confined in Ilchester Jail upon a charge of rioting at the late Election at Bath, the purport of which petition will be best given in his own words. He said it was “a petition from the friends and relations of certain persons of the names of Hickwood, Taylor and Lovell, who were at present confined in prison, and refused to be allowed bail, unjustly, as the petition stated; and who from their poverty were unable to bear the expense of procuring a writ of *habeas corpus*.—These persons had been represented to him as decent, hard-working men in Bath. At the late election there, a sort of riot had happened in the Guildhall, in consequence of which a few windows were broken, but no other mischief took place. These persons, however, one of whom was a *female* of the name of E. Lovell, were not taken up at the moment, but fixed on next day as the ringleaders, and treated with a degree of severity which he thought altogether unjustifiable. They were refused bail, and sent off to Ilchester prison, where they had ever since been kept *in solitary cells*, and what was more, *heavily ironed*; for which there could be no possible excuse, as their *confinement alone was security enough*. All offers of assistance in *food* and *clothing*, by their relatives, had also been *rejected*: in this excessively cold weather they were allowed *no stove* to warm themselves, and were obliged to turn into their cells every evening by *four o'clock*, where they had nothing to lie upon but *straw*, with *only one rug* and a *covering*. Nay, so far was this sort of prison discipline carried, that when turned into their cells, they were obliged to *leave behind them the great coats that they wore in the yard*. A *loaf* had also been



“ sent up to him as a specimen of their daily allowance. This loaf, said the Hon. Bart. (holding it forth—it appeared about the size of a *two-penny loaf*) was, *with water*, the whole of the prison allowance for the daily food of one man. He remembered that Mr. Burke had once produced a *dagger* as illustrating the picture of his own *imagination*, but this loaf (here the Hon. Bart. threw it upon the floor) bore testimony to a real fact disgraceful to any civilized country. He was very much afraid, that a degree of severity and oppression was exercised in many of the gaols of the kingdom, which the people at large were little aware of, and he trusted, that one effect of the present petition, would be a general inquiry into such intolerable abuses. It was far from being his wish to bring any charge against the Magistrates of the county, but he believed that the severities of the new prison discipline, countenanced by some of them, were really shocking. He might be told that the present prisoners had the means of obtaining legal redress; but they were poor, and could not bear the expense of an application for a *habeas corpus*. He called upon the House, therefore, to interfere in their favour, otherwise they might be actually starved before the period of the Assizes.”

I take this report as I find it in the Courier news-paper of the 22nd inst. It needs no comment. The petition was ordered to lie on the table, and will, of course, be taken up after the recess. The hired writers in London do not say any thing about it. They are so much taken up with the victories of Kutusow, and with their compassion for the Russians, that they have no time to attend to *trifles* of this sort.

AMERICAN STATES.—The Message of the President is, as any man in his senses might have expected, indicative of a resolution to keep on the war, until we give up the impressment of persons on board American vessels on the high seas; and it does not appear that Mr. Madison will be put out of his chair. In short, all the hopes held out to us by the hired writers, upon this subject, now appear to have been fallacious. The states are rapidly advancing in *their manufactures of all sorts*.—As Lord Sheffield's notion of the *dependance* of America upon England for *cloth* is very prevalent, I here insert an account of the manufactories in the State of New York only, preceded by an account of the increase of

the *population* of that State since the revolutionary war.

In the year 1786,	. . .	238,896
1791,	. . .	340,120
1800,	. . .	586,000
1810,	. . .	960,000

State of manufactures in the State of New York in the year 1810 or 1811.—Looms, 33,068.—Yards of cloth (all kinds) 9,099,703. Value in dollars, 5,002,891.—Tanworks, 867. Value of leather in dollars, 1,299,542.—Distilleries, 591. Value in dollars, 1,685,794.—Breweries, 42. Value in dollars, 340,765. Fulling-mills, 427. Value of cloth in dollars, 679,126.—Paper-mills, 28. Value in dollars, 233,268.—Hat-factories, 124. Value in dollars, 249,035.—Glass-works, 6. Value in dollars, 716,800.—Powder-mills, 2. Value in dollars, 10,400.—Rope-walks, 18. Value in dollars, 538,000.—Sugar-houses, 10. Value in dollars, 420,706.—Oil-mills, 28. Value in dollars, 49,283.—Blast-furnaces, 11. Value in dollars, 205,300.—Air-furnaces, 10. Value in dollars, 156,720.—Cut-nail-factories, 44. Value in dollars, 276,932.—Forges, 48. Value in dollars, 185,240.—Trip-hammers 49. Value in dollars, 2,603.—Rolling and slitting-mills, 1. Value in dollars, 33,120. Total value in dollars, 12,085,525.—Also 413 carding-machines, value included in cloth above, and 26 cotton-factories not included above, the cloth there mentioned being the manufacture of families only. The above returns are, moreover, believed to be short of the real amount; no tow-cloth was returned except for two counties. Instead of one there are 10 or 12 rolling and slitting-mills. The nail, hat, paper, and rope-factories, much exceed the number returned. All the woollen-factories were omitted. It may be safely affirmed, that the present annual value of the above-named manufactures exceed sixteen millions of dollars.—Now, I leave Lord Sheffield to judge, whether, at the end of two or three years more of war, America will ever want another yard of cloth from England. At his next Wool-fair Meeting, he will do well to insert this document in his report.—In short, the war in Spain, by stocking America with sheep, laid the foundation of its independence as to manufactures; and *this war will complete the superstructure*.—Already are the States in a situation to export wool; and, in a very few years, they will export *cloth*. That market, therefore, is closed for ever, and I am not at all



sorry for it, being convinced, that, in the end, it will tend to the freedom, and, of course, to the happiness, of both countries, England and America.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 23d Dec. 1812.

## OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

(Continued from page 798.)

monstrations on both wings, but the centre was chiefly engaged. This morning they began their retreat towards Senno. The troops who are in pursuit have as yet made about six hundred prisoners.—It is really a pleasure to see these troops fight.—The new-raised militia vie with the oldest regiments. One battalion of this militia being with the advanced guard, on receiving orders to fall back, first refused to do so, saying, the Emperor had not sent them there to retire, but to advance and beat the enemy, which they were willing to do.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) DORNBERG.

*Precis of the Journal of the Operations of the different Corps of the Army under the Command of Field-Marshal Prince Kutosoff, from the 11th to the 15th of November, 1812.*

On the 11th November, General Millaradovitch reports, that on the 9th the advanced guard under his command was to be at the village of Alexecoly; the next day at that of Yakoff. Lieutenant-General Sheppelef reports, that a detachment, sent by him on the 29th, met a body of the enemy, and drove it out of Elnee; part of the Don Cossacks pursued it on the Smolensko road. The head-quarters of the army were this day at the village of Lobcuff.

Nov. 12.—Lieutenant-General Count Orloff Denizoff, learning that a considerable foraging party of the enemy's cavalry and artillery depot were dispersed in the villages, attacked them, killed upwards of one thousand five hundred, made one thousand three hundred prisoners, and took one thousand horses, and four hundred carriages, mostly loaded with stores.—Two corps of General Millaradovitch ad-

vanced to the village of Ivergkoff.—The army halted.

Nov. 13.—Captain Naschokin, of the hussars of the guards, detached by Adjutant-General Count Orgeroff, attacked a detachment of the enemy in the village of Ilmorai, with some chasseurs and light cavalry; the combat lasted four hours, when the enemy retreated to the village of Michailoff, where he pursued and took them.—Detachments under Colonel Prince Radbolk, and one sent out by Major-General Carpo, made upwards of one hundred prisoners.—General Millaradovitch reports on the 12th November, that Major-General Neoff had made 150 prisoners at Charvanoff.—Major-General Volosdini reports, that Colonel Kreiganobski defeated a detachment of 700 men, under Major Aberjeu, killing a part, and making prisoners the remainder, 370 men, 18 Officers, and one staff surgeon.—Major-General Platoff reports, on the 9th of November, that having pursued Beauharnois's corps, he came up with it at the river Bone, near the estate called Yandsoff, and without regarding the advantages of his position, he attacked the enemy; on this occasion, besides numbers of killed and wounded, he took 33 pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners. He further reports, that, during the pursuit of Beauharnois's corps on the 8th of November, 69 guns were taken, and not 62, as formerly reported. General Platoff is now pursuing the remains of the same corps.—Adjutant-General Orloff Denizoff attacked the enemy on their march to Krasnoi, killed 500 and took 400 on the 12th instant. The next day he took some prisoners, some of which were officers.

Nov. 14.—Admiral Tchichagoff reports on the 11th instant, having left in the principality of Warsaw, a corps under the command of General Sachen. He marched with the remainder to Preyan, intending to pursue his march through Slonim and Neswich, to Minsk, where he proposed to arrive about the 17th or 19th November; that he had sent orders to Major-General Leiders, and Lieutenant-General Eartel, to march upon the same point. The former from Volhynia by Pinsk, the latter from Mozer by Lutsk, and that he would not fail to detach parties of light troops on the side of Vina, to keep up the communication with detachments on that flank.—Intelligence having been received from some French artillery prisoners, of the places where the enemy had concealed cannon and



arms near Boldinsky monastery, twenty-seven cannon, five or six thousand stand of arms, five hundred sabres, and fifteen thousand shells, have been dug out. The head-quarters of the army were this day at the village of Uroff.

Nov. 15. — Major-General Platoff reports of the 11th instant, that Beauharnois's corps having turned from Duckotchina road towards Smolensko, he continues to surround it, and cut off all provisions and forage. — Adjutant-General Count Orjeroff reports, under date of the 14th November, that he attacked the village of Krasnoi. The yagers, disregarding the fire of grape, attacked the enemy's columns with their bayonets, and after a combat, in which our artillery and cavalry were also engaged, took possession of the town; but observing strong columns of the enemy moving from Smolensko upon Krasnoi, they fell back three wersts, to the farm of Kulkoff. In this affair one Colonel and two hundred and fifty rank and file were taken. — Lieutenant-General Count Ostermann Tolstoy reports, that being with his division of infantry on the 14th, in the village of Koisoff, and learning that the enemy was within half a werst of that place, he detached a squadron of the Kal-mopolsky regiment, which killed a part and took 10 prisoners. — General Mil-laradovitch reports, on the 12th, that being at the village of Kuageneim, he sent a patrol upon the road from Smolensko to Krasnoi, to reconnoitre the enemy, which returned, having made 17 prisoners. The same day, Count Ostermann Tolstoy sent the Pskofki regiment of dragoons to examine the state of the villages occupied by the enemy. This regiment, perceiving three squadrons of cavalry, attacked and took five Officers and 290 men. — The enemy remained also this day in the village of Uroff. — Adjutant-General Count Orloff Denizoff also sent in two Generals of the division of General Almiras, and a Brigadier-General Burt, with an account of his having taken 20 pieces of cannon, near the town of Krasnoi.

*St. Petersburg, Nov. 25, 1812.*

My Lord,—In addition to my dispatch of the 23d instant, I have now the happiness to enclose a translation of reports which have been received from Field-Marshal Prince Kutosoff, of the 10th and 20th instant, containing the details of the total defeat of the divisions of the French army, under the commands of Marshals

Davoust and Ney. Near 200 cannon, and 20,000 prisoners, have been taken in these affairs. Buonaparté is stated to have been with Marshal Davoust's corps in the night from the 16th to the 17th, and to have left the field of battle at full speed. — Every measure of precaution that could be thought of at this distance, has been provided for by the Emperor to prevent the escape of the enemy; and it appears that every exertion has been made by the several Commanders of corps near Smolensko. Buonaparté has probably sent forward his favourite Guards, the Polish divisions, and part of the Italian; but if Admiral Tchichagoff has arrived at his ground, it does not appear that this corps would escape to the frontier. — The display of force before General Count Wittgenstein's post, after the attack, was probably with intention to favour the movement of the corps, which have marched upon Minsk. — It is not improbable that part of Victor's corps may have taken the same direction. — General Wittgenstein is reinforced by the cavalry formerly under General Winzengerode, for the present commanded by Major-General Kutosoff, who has made a most rapid march to Babinowitch, where he arrived time enough, on the 18th, to receive four hundred prisoners from one of the French divisions. He has also taken two Generals and one Colonel. — The French, with their usual savage and sacrilegious ferocity, wantonly blew up the venerable cathedral of Smolensko before they left that place. — *Te Deum* has been sung this day in the great cathedral, in presence of their Imperial Majesties and the whole Court; the "Baton de Mareschal" of Marshal Davoust, and such of the eagles and colours taken in the last affair as are already arrived here, were previously brought to the cathedral, in which the other numerous trophies of war are already deposited.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CATHCART.

*Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the French Grand Army.*

*Molodelschno, Dec. 3.*—To the 6th November the weather was fine, and the movement of the army executed with the greatest success. The cold weather began on the 7th; from that moment we every night lost several hundred horses, and numbers of men died in consequence of bivou-



acking. Arrived at Smolensko, we had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses.—The Russian army from Volhynia was opposed to our right. Our right left the Minsk line of operations, and took for the pivot of its operations the Warsaw line. On the 9th, the Emperor was informed at Smolensko of this change in the line of operations, and conceived what the enemy would do. However hard it appeared to him to put himself in movement during so cruel a season, the new state of things demanded it. He expected to arrive at Minsk, or at least upon the Beresina, before the enemy; on the 13th he quitted Smolensko; on the 16th he slept at Krasnoi.—The cold, which began the 7th, suddenly increased, and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th the thermometer was 16 and 18 degrees below the freezing point.—The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses.—In a few days more than 30,000 horses perished; our cavalry were on foot; our artillery and our baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a good part of our cannon, ammunition, and provisions.—This army, so fine on the 6th, was very different from the 14th: almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. Without cavalry, we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it: it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to a cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. Those men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.—The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs in the deserts, the trains and car-

riages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make noise, and is not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he wished to undertake: they were overthrown by the Viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.—The Duke of Elchingen, with 3,000 men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensko. He was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position; but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity with which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole day of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him at night, made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthenes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy.—On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthenes at Orza, and the Russian army, being fatigued and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts.—The army of Volhynia had inclined on the 16th upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisow. Gen. Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisow with 3,000 men. On the 23d he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position.—The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Bobo; the division Lambert formed the advanced-guard.—The second corps, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, which was at Tacherein, had received orders to march upon Borisow, to secure to the army the passage of the Beresina.—On the 24th, the Duke of Reggio met the division, Lambert, four leagues from Borisow, attacked and defeated it, took 2,000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, 500 baggage-waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina.—General Berkeim, with the 4th cuirassiers, distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy could only secure his safety by burning the bridge, which is more than 300 toises in length. Nevertheless, the enemy occupied all the passages of the Beresina; this river is forty toises wide, and had much floating ice on it, but its banks are covered with marshes 300 toises long, which present great obstacles in clearing it. The enemy's General had placed his four divisions at the different debouches, where he presumed the French army would attempt to pass.—On the 26th, at break of day, the Emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day



of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzeanea, and caused, in spite of an enemy's division, and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The Duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the *tête-du-pont* of Borisow. General Legrand, an officer of the first rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously, wounded. During the whole days of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.—

The Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the Duke of Reggio, to form the rear guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Portaunaux's division formed the rear-guard of this corps.—On the 27th, at noon, the Duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzeanea. Portaunaux's division set out at night from Borisow. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between 10 and 11 o'clock; it sought its first brigade and its General, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires which it mistook for those of the French army. Thus surrounded it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of 2,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and three pieces of artillery. Reports state, that the General of Division was not with his column and had marched alone.—All the army having passed on the morning of the 28th, the Duke of Belluno guarded the *tête du-pont* upon the left bank; the Duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank of the Borisow, having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated: they planned an attack on the 28th, at break of day. The Duke of Reggio caused the Emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards the Duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The Duke of Elchingen immediately followed the Duke of Reggio, and the Duke of Treviso, the Duke of Elchingen. The battle became

warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, General Doumère, commanding the 5th division of cuirassiers, which made part of the 2d corps that remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry, by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy, who was defeated and put to the route, with the enemy's cavalry which came to the assistance of its infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon, fell into our hands.

—On his side the Duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from five to 600 prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within the reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry. In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The Duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound is not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.—The next day (the 29th) we remained on the field of battle. We had to make our choice between two routes—that to Minsk and that to Wilna. The road to Minsk led through the middle of a forest and of uncultivated marches, where it was impossible for the army to subsist itself. On the contrary, the road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient of ammunition, and horribly fatigued by 50 days march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.—On the 30th, the head-quarters were at Plechnitsi; on the 1st Dec. at Slaike, and on the 3d, at Molodetschno, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna.—All the wounded Officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna.—To say that the army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery, and its materials, this is the result of the Exposé which has just been made. Its repose is of the first necessity. The material and the horses are coming in; General Boureier has already more than 20,000 remount horses in different depots.—The artillery has already repaired its losses. The Generals, Officers, and soldiers have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossacks' ambushes. The



Cossacks have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of wounded Officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk to marching slowly, and going with the convoy.—The reports of the General Officers commanding the different corps will make known what Officers and soldiers have chiefly distinguished themselves, and the details of these memorable events.—In all these movements the Emperor has been continually marching in the middle of his guards. The cavalry commanded by Marshal Duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the Duke of Dantzic.—His Majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shewn by his guards. They have always been ready to shew themselves every where that their presence was needful: but circumstances have always been such that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a case which required them to charge.—The Prince of Neufchatel, the Grand Marshal, the Grand Equerry, and all the Aids-de-Camp and Military Officers of the household, have always accompanied His Majesty.—Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the Officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of 150 men each.—The Generals there performed the functions of Captains, and the Colonels those of Subalterns.—This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the King of Naples, did not lose sight of the Emperor in all these movements. The health of His Majesty was never better.

#### AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

*Washington City, Nov. 4.*—The President of the United States this day communicated to Mr. Coles, his private Secretary, the following Message to Congress:—

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,*

On our present meeting, it is my first duty to invite your attention to the providential favours which our country has experienced in the unusual degree of health dispensed to its inhabitants, and in the rich abundance with which the earth has rewarded the labours bestowed on it. In the successful cultivation of other branches of industry, and in the progress of general improvement favourable to the national

prosperity, there is just occasion also for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness.—With these blessings are naturally mingled the pressures and vicissitudes incidental to the state of war, into which the United States have been forced by the perseverance of a Foreign Power in its system of injustice and aggression. Previous to its declaration, it was deemed proper, as a measure of precaution and forecast, that a considerable force should be placed in the Michigan territory, with a general view to its security; and, in the event of war, to such operations in the uppermost Canada, as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages; obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders; and maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts.—Brigadier-Gen. Hull was charged with this provisional service, having under his command a body of troops, composed of regulars and of volunteers from the state of Ohio: having reached his destination, after his knowledge of the war, and possessing discretionary authority to act offensively, he passed into the neighbouring territory of the enemy with a prospect of an easy and victorious progress. The expedition, nevertheless, terminated unfortunately, not only in a retreat to the town and fort of Detroit, but in the surrender of both, and of the gallant corps commanded by that Officer. The causes of this painful reverse will be investigated by a military tribunal. A distinguishing feature in the operations which preceded and followed this adverse event, is the use made by the enemy of the merciless savages under their influence. Whilst the benevolent policy of the United States invariably recommended peace, and promoted civilization amongst that wretched portion of the human race, and was making exertions to dissuade them from taking either side in the war, the enemy has not scrupled to call to his aid their ruthless ferocity, armed with the horrors of those instruments of carnage and torture which are known to spare neither age nor sex. In this outrage against the laws of honourable war, and against the feelings sacred to humanity, the British Commanders cannot resort to a plan of retaliation; for it is committed in the face of our example. They cannot mitigate it by calling it a self-defence against men in arms, for it embraces the most shocking butcheries of defenceless families; nor can it be pretended that they are not answerable for the



atrocities perpetrated, since the savages are employed with the knowledge, and even with menaces, that their fury could not be controlled. Such is the spectacle which the deputed authorities of a nation, boasting its religion and morality, have not been restrained from presenting to an enlightened age.—The misfortune at Detroit was not, however, without a consoling effect. It was followed by signal proofs that the national spirit rises according to the pressure on it. The loss of an important post, and of the brave men surrendered with it, inspired every where new ardour and determination. In the states and districts least remote, it was no sooner known, than every Citizen was eager to fly with his arms at once to protect his brethren against the blood-thirsty savages let loose by the enemy on an extensive frontier; and to convert a partial calamity into a source of invigorated efforts. This patriotic zeal, which it was necessary rather to limit than excite, has embodied an ample force from the states of Kentucky and Ohio, and from parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of Brigadier-General Harrison, who possesses the entire confidence of his fellow-soldiers; among whom are citizens, some of them volunteers in the ranks, not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits.—The greater portion of this force is proceeding on its destination towards the Michigan territory, having succeeded in relieving an important frontier post, and in several incidental operations against hostile tribes of savages, rendered indispensable by the subserviency into which they had been seduced by the enemy; a seduction the more cruel, as it could not fail to impose a necessity of precautionary severities against those who yielded to it.—At a recent date an attack was made on a post of the enemy near Niagara, by a detachment of the regular and other forces, under the command of Major-Gen. Van Rensselaer, of the Militia of the State of New York. The attack, it appears, was ordered in compliance with the ardour of the troops, who executed it with distinguished gallantry, and were for a time victorious; but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to reinforcements of British regulars and savages. Our loss has been considerable, and is deeply to be lamented. That of the enemy, less ascertained, will be the more felt, as it includes among the killed the Commanding General,

who was also Governor of the province; and was sustained by veteran troops, from inexperienced soldiers, who must daily improve in the duties of the field.—Our expectation of gaining the command of the Lakes, by the invasion of Canada from Detroit, having been disappointed, measures were instantly taken to provide on them a naval force superior to that of the enemy. From the talents and activity of the Officer charged with this object, every thing that can be done may be expected. Should the present season not admit of complete success, the progress made will ensure for the next a naval ascendancy where it is essential, to a permanent peace with, and a control over, the Savages.—Among the incidents to the measures of the war, I am constrained to advert to the refusal of the Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to furnish the required detachments of militia towards the defence of the maritime frontier. The refusal was founded on a novel and unfortunate exposition of the provisions of the Constitution relating to the militia. The correspondence which will be before you, contains the requisite information on the subject. It is obvious, that if the authority of the United States to call into service and command the militia for the public defence can be thus frustrated, even in a state of declared war, and of course under apprehensions of invasion preceding war, they are not one nation for the purpose most of all requiring it, and that the public safety may have no other resource than those large and permanent military establishments which are forbidden by the principles of our free government, and against the necessity of which the militia were meant to be a constitutional bulwark.—On the coasts and on the ocean, the war has been as successful as circumstances inseparable from its early stages could promise. Our public ships and private cruizers, by their activity, and where there was occasion, by their intrepidity, have made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. Our trade, with little exception, has safely reached our ports, having been much favoured in it by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates, under the command of Commodore Rodgers; and in the instance in which skill and bravery were more particularly tried with those of the enemy, the American flag had an auspicious triumph. The frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Hull, after a close



and short engagement, completely disabled and captured a British frigate; gaining for that officer, and all on board, a praise which cannot be too liberally bestowed,—not merely for the victory actually achieved, but for that prompt and cool exertion of commanding talents, which, giving to courage its highest character, and to the force applied its full effect, proved that more could have been done in a contest requiring more.—Anxious to abridge the evils from which a state of war cannot be exempt, I lost no time after it was declared, in conveying to the British Government the terms on which its progress might be arrested, without waiting the delays of a formal and final pacification: and our *Chargé d’Affaires* at London was at the same time authorized to agree to an armistice, founded upon them. These terms required, that the Orders in Council should be repealed, as they affected the United States, without a revival of the blockades violating acknowledged rules; that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships, and a stop to impressments from American ships, with an understanding that an exclusion of the seamen of each nation from the ships of the other should be stipulated, and that the armistice should be improved into a definitive and comprehensive adjustment of depending controversies.—Although a repeal of the orders susceptible of explanations meeting the views of this Government, had taken place before this pacific advance was communicated to that of Great Britain, the advance was declined from an avowed repugnance to a suspension of the practice of impressment during the armistice, and without any intimation that the arrangement proposed with respect to seamen would be accepted. Whether the subsequent communications from this Government, affording an occasion for reconsidering the subject on the part of Great Britain, will be viewed in a more favourable light, or received in a more accommodating spirit, remains to be known. It would be unwise to relax our measures, in any respect, on a presumption of such a result.—The documents from the department of State, which relate to this subject, will give a view also of the propositions for an Armistice, which have been received here; one of them from the authorities at Halifax and in Canada, the other from the British Government itself, through Admiral Warren; and of the grounds upon which neither of them could be accepted.—Our

affairs with France retain the posture which they held at my last communication to you.—Notwithstanding the authorized expectation of an early as well as favourable issue of the discussions on foot, these have been procrastinated to the latest date. The only intervening occurrence meriting attention, is the promulgation of a French decree, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees. This proceeding, although made the ground of the repeal of the British Orders in Council, is rendered, by the time and manner of it, liable to many objections.—The final communications from our special Minister to Denmark, afford further proofs of the good effects of his mission, and of the amicable disposition of the Danish Government. From Russia we have the satisfaction to receive assurances of continued friendship, and that it will not be affected by the rupture between the United States and Great Britain. Sweden also professes sentiments favourable to subsisting harmony.—With the Barbary Powers, excepting that of Algiers, our affairs remain on the ordinary footing. The Consul General residing with that Regency, has suddenly, and without cause, been banished, together with all the American citizens found there. Whether this was the transitory effect of capricious despotism, or the first act of predetermined hostility, is not ascertained. Precautions were taken by the Consul on the latter supposition.—The Indian tribes, not under foreign instigations, remain at peace, and receive the civilizing attentions which have proved so beneficial to them.—With a view to that vigorous prosecution of the war to which our national faculties are adequate, the attention of Congress will be particularly drawn to the insufficiency of the existing provisions for filling up the military establishment. Such is the happy condition of our country, arising from the facility of subsistence, and the high wages for every species of occupation, that, notwithstanding the augmented inducements provided at the last Session, a partial success only has attended the recruiting service. The deficiency has been necessarily supplied during the campaign by other than regular troops, with all the inconveniences and expenses incident to them. The remedy lies, in establishing more favourably for the private soldier, the proportion between his recompense and the term of his enlistment: and it is a subject which cannot too soon or too seriously be taken into consideration. The same insuf-



iciency has been experienced in the provisions for volunteers made by an Act of the last Session. The recompense for the service required in this case, is still less attractive than in the other: and although patriotism alone has sent into the field some valuable corps of that description, those alone who can afford the sacrifice, can reasonably be expected to yield to the impulse. It will merit consideration also, whether, as auxiliary to the security of our frontier, corps may not be advantageously organized, with a restriction of their services to particular districts convenient to them; and whether the local or occasional services of marines or others in the sea-port towns, under a similar organization, would not be a proper addition to the means of their defence. I recommend a provision for an increase of the General Officers of the army, the deficiency of which has been illustrated by the number and distance of separate commands, which the cause of the war, and the advantage of the service, have required: and I cannot press too strongly on the earliest attention of the Legislature, the importance of the re-organization of the Staff Establishment, with a view to render more distinct and definite the relations and responsibilities of its several departments: that there is room for improvements which will materially promote both economy and success, in what appertains to the army and the war, is equally inculcated by the examples of other countries, and by the experience of our own.—A revision of the Militia Laws, for the purpose of rendering them more systematic, and better adapting them to emergencies of the war, is at this time particularly desirable. Of the additional ships authorized to be fitted for service, two will be shortly ready to sail; a third is under repair, and delay will be avoided in the repair of the residue. Of the appropriations for the purchase of materials for ship-building, the greater part has been applied to that object, and the purchases will be continued with the balance. The enterprising spirit which has characterized our naval force, and its success both in restraining insults and depredations on our coasts, and in reprisals on the enemy, will not fail to recommend an enlargement upon it.—There being reason to believe, that the Act prohibiting the acceptance of British licenses is not a sufficient guard against the use of them, for purposes favourable to the interests and views of the enemy; further provisions on that subject are highly important. Nor is

it less so, that penal enactments should be provided for cases of corrupt and perfidious intercourse with the enemy, not amounting to treason, nor yet embraced by any statutory provisions.—A considerable number of American vessels, which in England when the revocation of the Orders in Council took place, were laden with British manufactures, under an erroneous impression that the Non-Importation Act would immediately cease to operate, have arrived in the United States. It did not appear proper to exercise on unforeseen cases of such magnitude, the ordinary powers vested in the Treasury Department, to mitigate forfeitures without previously affording Congress an opportunity of making on the subject such provisions as they may think proper. In their decision, they will, doubtless, equally consult what is due to equitable considerations, and to the public interest.—The receipts into the Treasury during the year ending on the 30th of Sept. last, have exceeded 16 millions and an half of dollars; which have been sufficient to defray all the demands on the Treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of near three millions of the principal of the public debt. In these receipts are included a sum of near 8,850,000 received on account of the loans authorized by the Acts of last Session. The whole sum actually obtained on loan amounts to 11 millions of dollars, the residue of which being receivable subsequent to the 30th of September, will, together with the current revenue, enable us to defray all the expenses of this year.—The duties on the late unexpected importations of British manufactures will render the revenue of the ensuing year more productive than could have been anticipated. The situation of our country, fellow citizens, is not without its difficulties, though it abounds in animating considerations, of which the view here presented of our pecuniary resources is an example. With more than one nation we have serious and unsettled controversies; and with one powerful in the means and habits of war, we are at war. The spirit and strength of this nation are nevertheless equal to the support of all its rights, and to carry it through all its trials. They can be met in that confidence. Above all, we have the inestimable consolation of knowing, that the war in which we are actually engaged, is a war neither of ambition nor vain glory; that it is waged, not in violation of the rights of others, but in the

(*To be continued.*)



# ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

*As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of*

WILLIAM COBBETT.

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IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—"The Mutiny amongst the *LO-CAL MILITIA*, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the *arrival* of four squadrons of the *GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY* from Bury, under the *command* of General Auckland. Five of the *ringleaders* were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced* to receive 500 lashes each, part of which *punishment* they received on Wednesday, and *a part* was remitted. *A stoppage for their knap-sacks* was the ground of the complaint that *ex-cited* this mutinous spirit, which occasioned *the men* to surround their officers, and demand *what* they deemed their arrears. The first *division* of the German Legion halted yesterday *at Newmarket* on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the *Political Register*, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the *Political Register*; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news-man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds *TO THE KING*, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

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two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds *TO THE KING*, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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